1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the figure of the guardian rested on the child's back. Two little bags with fragments of stone arrow-points were also attached to the strap; but their meaning is not clear. The-Searching-Kamak-Face guards, keeps in place, or restores the child's soul, which may leave the body or go astray. Small children are

Fig. 8 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Snow-Beater serving as Guardian. Length, 54 cm.

especially subject to assaults of evil spirits, and the souls frightened by the latter desert the bodies. When children are asleep, their souls also leave their bodies, and lose their way. In such cases The-Searching-Kamak-Face catches them, and puts them back in place.

Although the "searching little charm" is, like the Roman *genius*, an individual protector of the child that wears it, it is to be regarded as one of the

Fig. 9, *a* ($\frac{1}{10}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{11}$). Child's Guardians. Length of *a*, 10 cm.

family *penates*. It is transmitted by inheritance. The older it is, the more powerful does it become. When a child is born in a family, the charm is taken off from the older child, and sewed to the clothing of the new-born child. A new charm is made only in case the family divides.

THE SKIN BOAT AND ITS CHARMS. — Among the rest of the family deities, the skin boat, as an implement for procuring food, is an important guardian of the family hearth. Being closely linked with the family cult of the Maritime Koryak, the skin boat cannot belong to two households that are not mutually connected by ties of consanguinity. Neither can it be sold, or given temporarily to strangers. As one of the household *penates*, it is the source of the family's welfare. The owner of the skin boat generally takes along strangers,

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

who was all covered with syphilitic ulcers, but whom I had no opportunity of seeing, did not die because she was supported by her guardian spirits. On the other hand, child-birth may result in a complete or temporary loss of shamanistic power. During the period of menstruation a woman is not permitted to touch a drum.

Eme'mqut's shamanistic power disappeared after the mythical Triton had bewitched him, and caused him to give birth to a boy. His power was restored to him after his sister had killed the Triton's sister, by which deed the act of giving birth was completely eliminated.[1] Tale 113 also tells of the transformation of men into women. Illa' dressed himself like a woman and went to his neighbors. When River-Man (Veye'mila^{n}), the neighbor's son, recognized him, Illa', in revenge, filled him with the continual desire to become a woman.

In Tale 129 Kilu''s brother became pregnant with twins. When he was unable to give birth, his sister took out his entrails and put the entrails of a mouse in their place. After the children had been born, she replaced his entrails. Apparently the tranformation was not complete in this case.

FAMILY SHAMANISM. *The Drum.* — In the chapter on guardians and charms I referred to the drum as a household guardian. In connection with professional shamanism I mentioned that the drum is closely connected with shamanistic performances, but not with the person of the shaman, as is the case among other Asiatic shamans. I shall point out here the part played by the drum in family shamanism.

The power of the drum lies in the sounds emitted by it. On the one hand, the rhythm and change of pitch produced by skilful beating with the stick evoke an emotional excitement in primitive man, thus placing the drum in the ranks of a musical instrument. On the other hand, the sound of the drum, just like the human voice or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits. **The stick** is the tongue of the drum, the Yukaghir say. As seen from Tale 9, The-Master-on-High himself, in his creative activity, needs a drum. Big-Raven borrowed the drum from him, and gave it to men.

The following song, which was sung while beating the drum by a Reindeer Koryak woman of the Taigonos Peninsula, and which may be regarded as a prayer to the Creator (Tenanto'mwan), to whom it was addressed, characterizes the relation of the latter to the acquiring of the drum by man.

Text.

"Gi'ča ivi'hi^{s} 'ya'yai getei'kilm' nime'leu mini'tvala qoya'u evi'yike i'miñ
"Thou said, 'drum make' well (we) shall live the reindeer not dying also

yava'letin kimi'ñu nime'leu."
afterwards children well (let live)."

[1] See Tale 85.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

VI. — BIRTH, DEATH, AND FUNERALS.

775 842 BIRTH. — Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the mother's womb the soul (uyi'čit) of some deceased relative of the child to be born. The length of life of each soul is determined beforehand. Souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of The-One-on-High. The duration of the earthly life of the future possessor of the soul is marked by the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or thumb. The shorter the strap, the shorter will be the life of the new-born. A drawing made by the Koryak Yulta, already described (see Fig. 40, p. 93), illustrates the Koryak idea of souls hanging in the house of the Supreme Being.

851 553 774 787 As soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the dead relative whose soul has been reborn in it. The father of the new-born uses a divining-stone called Little-Grandmother (An·a'pel) to discover whose soul has entered the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is lifted, and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing quicker. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behavior of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries while a name is pronounced, it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced, the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people, "A relative has come" (Qaitu'mĕin ye'ti). On one occasion during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child, and said to the mother, "Here, thy father has come!"

If a mistake is made in divining the identity of the soul which entered the new-born child, something will ail the child after it has been named. Then this mistake may be corrected, and its name is usually changed by means of repeated divination.

Neither I myself nor my wife was present at a confinement, nor did we witness the divining while the child was named.[1] What I am going to describe here is recorded from what the Koryak have told me.

[1] In every village, I made inquiries about pregnant women, asking them to call my wife when the confinement should take place, that she might become acquainted with the Koryak methods of midwifery; but the Koryak concealed all births from us. On two occasions women were confined in the villages where we were staying, but we learned of it only *post factum*.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

After confinement, the woman is regarded as unclean for a month. During this time she must not take off her shoes in a strange house, nor should she bare her feet in her own house in the presence of strangers. For a year following confinement, she is expected to observe the following food taboos. She must not partake of ringed seal, white whale, fresh fish, or raw thong-seal. She is forbidden to eat whale-meat in the fall, but may do so in the winter. She may eat the boiled meat of a thong-seal caught in the river, but not if it be caught in the sea. A woman, after confinement, is permitted to eat reindeer-meat in any shape or form. There is no doubt that these taboos are intended to prevent the unclean woman from coming in contact with animals that serve as the source of subsistence of the tribe; but it is a striking fact that the taboos are observed in reference to sea-animals only. Other taboos are for the protection of the child. Children in general, and the new-born in particular, are, more than grown-up people, subject to the danger of becoming the victims of the kalau. Children's souls are very shy and inexperienced. The least fright may cause them to leave the body, and, after they have once left, they are unable to find the entrance that leads back into the body. They are also apt to lose their way. Therefore during the entire winter the new-born child must not be taken out of the house, where it is under the protection of the family guardians. In case of absolute necessity, the mother must keep it in her bosom under her coat, and must not take it out when in a strange house. Only after the spring equinox may the child be taken out of the house in safety. The after-birth is put in a bag and hung on a pole some distance away from the village (Plate XII, Fig. 2, opp. p. 97).

DEATH. — As with all other primitive people, death does not appear to the Koryak as a natural process, — most people are killed by the kalau, — but it happens that the Supreme Being and other supernatural beings may bring about the death of man as a punishment for an infraction of a taboo, or for a failure to offer sacrifice. Shamans frequently inflict death upon men. On the other hand, there is a tradition according to which it was Big-Raven (Quikinn-a'qu) that caused people to die.

The soul (uyi'čit), or, to be more exact, the chief soul, of the man, frightened by the attack of the kalau upon it, deserts the body, and rises to the Supreme Being. According to some tales, the kala himself pulls the soul out of the human body, and sets it free to go off to the sky, in order to possess himself of the body or of the other souls of the deceased.

Though a man cannot live without a soul, there is apparently some other vital principle, or a secondary soul. I did not learn its name, and heard nothing definite relating to this accessory soul; but some vital principle[1] is

[1] Mr. Bogoras says of the Chukchee (Chukchee Materials, p. 17), that they have five or six souls (uvi'rit). Many North American Indians believe that man has two or more souls, while the Yukaghir believe that he has three. As to the Yukaghir, I admit that the conception of these souls has been borrowed by them from the Yakut, with whom each of the three souls has a name of its own.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

774 761 implied in the words wuyŕvi ("breathing") and wu'yil-wu'yil ("shadow"). Furthermore, the demarcation between life and death is very ill defined. The dead body is believed not to be deprived of the ability to move. The deceased may arise, if he is not watched. On the Taigonos Peninsula, the Reindeer Koryak told me that a Koryak, by name Ei'gelin, died a few years ago. It so happened that everybody in the house went to sleep, then he arose. When the people awoke, and saw that he was standing, they stabbed him with their knives; but he merely laughed. Then they tried to club him, but were unable to kill him. They dragged him to the fire, but could not burn him. He walked from house to house, saying, "Here, I am leading Ei'gelin." Finally a Russian undertook to burn him. He was given reindeer and a sledge, then he cut Ei'gelin to pieces and carted them away to be burned.

775 The soul does not leave earth at once. The person may be dead, but his soul is soaring high above him. The soul resembles a small fire. It is outside of the body during illness. If the illness is slight, the soul keeps close above the patient; and if it is severe, it is higher up, and farther away from him. Powerful shamans are able to cause the soul to return, and thus restore to life a person that has died recently. The Koryak Yulta, from Kamenskoye, told me that his father had died twice. The first time he died at sunset. A shaman, summoned from the Livaty settlement, spent all night beating the drum; and toward sunrise Yulta's father revived. He lived for a long time after that. After his recovery he told the people that he had been walking all alone in the other world for a long time. Finally he beheld a house, and near it he saw his fellow-villager Qatče'pin. He asked him, "How didst thou get here?" and Qatče'pin replied, "I sold to the Russian chief two dogs that I had promised to offer to the Supreme Being. On account of this I died." It so happened that Qatče'pin died the same night; and when Yulta's father revived, wood was being piled up for burning Qatče'pin's body.

776 761 Often death is brought about by attacks of the kalau, and it is believed that the kalau cut their victims. It is not quite clear how this is believed to be done. On the one hand, the kala seems to eat human flesh in the most material way, tearing out pieces of flesh from live people, and devouring their internal organs. The Koryak say that he likes human liver particularly well. On the other hand, the body of the deceased, before it is burned, does not show any signs of having been touched by any one. According to the Chukchee conception, evil spirits steal the soul (uwi'rit) in order to eat it, and they fatten it before feasting on it.[1] We find this conception in a clearer form among the Yakut. The evil spirits eat the soul kut, one of the three souls of men.

775 The Koryak have also a double conception of the country of the shadows. While the soul rises to the Supreme Being, the deceased and his other soul,

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, p. 17.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

VII. — GENERAL VIEW OF NATURE.

My studies of the religious life of the Koryak, and of their conception of the universe, lead me to think that their conception of nature approaches very closely the ideas of the Indians of the North Pacific coast. At the same time, however, the religion and the myths of the Koryak contain traces of Asiatic and Eskimo ideas.

The Koryak view of nature is most primitive. Not only all visible objects, but also the phenomena of nature, are regarded as animate beings. This idea of a vital principle residing in objects and phenomena of nature is essentially an anthropomorphic idea.

Everything visible in nature, and everything imaginary, — that is, all that is within and beyond the limits of our visual powers (as, for example, animals, plants, stones, rivers, a wind, a fog, a cloud, luminaries, spirits, and deities), — are thought of as material beings of anthropomorphic form. These anthropomorphic ideas are often schematic and incomplete. This is shown by the wooden images of "guardians." Since the Koryak have attained quite a high degree of skill in carving figures true to nature, and in endowing them with motion and life, we cannot help being surprised at the crudeness of the outlines of their wooden representations of the "guardians." This apparently corresponds to their vague anthropomorphic notions of invisible objects as they present themselves to their mind.

On the other hand, this vagueness of their notions does not prevent them from being material. To their minds it is an undoubted fact that objects and phenomena of nature conceal an anthropomorphic substance underneath their outer forms. At the period of the appearance of man on earth, — that is, at the time of Big-Raven, which corresponds to the mythological age of the Indians of the Pacific coast of America, — the transformation of animals and other objects into men was quite a natural occurrence. All objects appeared in two states. One corresponded to the exterior form of things, serving as a cover; and the other, to the interior, anthropomorphic form. Every object may turn into a human being by casting off its outer shell. The myths of both the Koryak and the Pacific coast Indians are full of such episodes. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the ermine, the mouse, the raven, and other animals, are described as taking off their skins and becoming men. In the same manner the Fog people come out of a dispersing fog,[1] and a cloud turns into a Cloud-Man. By casting off their hard exteriors, stone hammers turn into Stone-Hammer people, who go fishing.[2] Fishes, also, take on the form of human beings.

[1] Tale 94. [2] Tale 48.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

231 the feeding. No sooner, however, does a dog from another household approach the trough, than all will set upon it. A newly acquired dog is brought to the trough and watched, lest the other dogs attack it. After two or three days the pack recognize the new dog's right to come to the trough. A similar protection must be extended by the Maritime Koryak to a newly acquired dog that is for the first time put into a team.

231 As far as I know, among all the Asiatic tribes using the dog, only the Gilyak feed the dogs indoors. For this purpose a high platform is erected 171 in the middle of the house, the trough with the feed is placed on it, and the dogs are taken there.[1] The Koryak, Chukchee, Kamchadal, Yukaghir, northern Yakut, and coast Tungus feed the dogs out of doors. The Eskimo do not let the dogs into the house, but they lie in the entrance leading into the winter house. Murdoch says that the Eskimo women take care of the puppies as if they were babes, and carry them in their coats.[2] Among the Central Eskimo, "young dogs are carefully nursed, and in winter they are even allowed to lie on the couch, or are hung up over the lamp in a piece of skin."[3]

231 *Care of the Dog.* — Among all dog-breeders, — excepting the northern Yakut, who only lately reached the polar regions, where they took to 171 dog-driving, — dogs are believed to play a certain part in the world of the 774 dead. The Yukaghir, Koryak, Chukchee, and Kamchadal believe that dogs guard the entrance to the country of the shades.[4] They must be bribed by the 343 entering shadows. They give a very ugly reception to the dead who while alive tortured dogs. These ideas are not foreign to the Gilyak, Aleut, and Eskimo. We find an entirely different attitude toward the dog among the Yakut, who originally did not breed dogs. They consider the dog an unclean animal. The shaman whose protecting spirit appears in the form of a dog is deemed bad. While even horses and cattle possess souls (kut), the dog has none. Accordingly it is not fit for sacrifice to evil spirits. The Yakut were offended when I took my dog along into the house, especially when I placed it near me in the front corner, the place accorded to guests of honor. The dog, a Yakut told me, brings into the house the evil spirits (abasy') that sit by tens on the point of the dog's tail. Hence I never saw a Yakut fondling a dog. He treats the dog with great cruelty. Among true dog-breeders we meet with a different attitude towards the dog. The Koryak often fondle them, and in caring for them, both at home and on journeys, oftener try to train them by caresses and kind words than by the stick. The Yukaghir of the Upper Kolyma, and also the Maritime Koryak, build on the side of the house rather

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[1] See Schrenck, II, p. 168; Sternberg, The Gilyak (The Ethnographical Review, Bulletin of the Ethnographic Section of the Society of Friends of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography [Moscow, 1904], 1, p. 18).

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358.

[3] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[4] See Part I, p. 110.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R94 Koryak R94

roomy sheds for the protection of dogs during snow-storms. These dog-kennels are made of logs, and have roofs with two slopes covered over with bark to keep the snow of winter and the rain of summer from getting in through the chinks. The back of the kennel is formed by the wall of the house. The opposite side serves as an entrance. It is fenced off by a high threshold. The depth of the kennel varies from a metre to two metres, and its height is about a metre. These kennels are mainly intended for bitches with puppies. Schrenck says of the Gilyak,[1] as Boas and Murdoch say of the Eskimo, that they keep the puppies in the house.[2] Owing to the plan of construction of the Koryak winter house, it would involve great difficulties to keep puppies in the house; and for this reason they are not taken inside, notwithstanding the great care bestowed by the Maritime Koryak upon their dogs.[3]

In the back part of the kennel, girls build a bed of dry grass for the slut and her litter. Special nourishing food is cooked for the slut. Small or even grown-up girls take the food to her by crawling into the kennel. They see to it that the dog warms, feeds, and does no harm to the pups. Often the sluts, especially if it is their first breed, display no affection for the pups, and are inclined to desert them. When the pups grow up, the girls accustom them to eat soup and finely minced fish from the trough. When the mother-dog can no longer cover the growing pups with her body, or when she begins to leave the kennel, the puppies warm one another by cuddling close together. Each pup endeavors to get to the middle. On very cold days they lie this way for days at a time, except when being fed, and they squeal on account of the cold. The pups are very timid. At the end of the second month they venture on sunny days to crawl over the kennel threshold to see the light of day; but at the merest approach of man or of a grown dog, they run back to their lair. The threshold is made principally for the purpose of confining the young puppies to the kennel.

Steller thus describes the Kamchadal method of raising puppies and training them for driving:[4] "When the pups' eyes were open, they were placed with the bitch in a deep hole, that they might see neither men nor animals, and there they were fed. After they had been weaned, they were placed in another ditch. On reaching six months of age, they were harnessed

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[1] Schrenck, II, p. 168.

[2] See Murdoch, p. 358; Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 538.

[3] I take occasion here to draw attention to the statements made by Kennan (p. 225) concerning Koryak dogs, and by Steller (p. 134) concerning Kamchadal dogs. Both authors state that they climb to the roofs of houses and into storehouses erected on posts. According to Steller, the Kamchadal dogs climb up ladders and steal provisions from storehouses; and Kennan relates that Koryak dogs will look into the opening from the roofs of underground dwellings and during their scuffles will roll down into the kettles in which food is being cooked. On no occasion have I seen Koryak dogs on house-roofs. They would climb over the roof of the antechamber and up the sloping walls of the house, under the cover of the storm-roof, where they found shelter from the winds. I could not teach a Koryak dog that I brought up myself to clamber from the roof of the ante-room to the house-roof by means of the holes in the post which serves as a ladder.

[4] Steller, p. 138.